

Seasonable Address

To both Houses of

PARLIAMENT

CONCERNING THE

SUCCESSION;

The Fears of

P O P E R Y,

A N D

Arbitrary Government.

By a true PROTESTANT,

And a Hearty Lover of his COUNTRY.

L O N D O N,

Printed in the Year, MDCLXXXI.

To the Hon. Secy. of the Navy

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst.

and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

John D. Long

Secretary of the Navy

Washington, D.C.

Very respectfully,

A Seasonable
A D D R E S S
 T O
 Both Houses of
PARLIAMENT,
 Concerning the
Succession, &c.

15th 34th Parliament
IT was the *Egyptians* practice, before Physick was reduc'd into Art or Profession, to carry forth into the Roads and Highways, the Diseas'd, and enquire of all passengers concerning the Causes and Remedies of their Distempers; out of whose prescriptions their Friends selected, and applied what they judg'd most proper.

What was then done for the Natural, is now as necessary for the Body Politick of this Country, sick, almost unto death, of *Fears* and *jealousies*, the Plots and Devices of the wicked and ambitious; expos'd to all Travellers, among whom good Nature and Self-preservation have at length, after two years silent compassion, prevail'd upon me to give my opinion of the Causes and Cures of our Evils; which I will offer without fear or favour of Party or Faction, of Court or City; enquiring how far our apprehensions of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, that have so long discompos'd us at home, and made us contemptible abroad, are just and reasonable.

Tho' I confess 'tis said, *There never was smook without some fire*; yet at first sight it seems hard to believe that sober men shou'd ever attempt innovations, seldom or never advantageous, always hurtful,

because necessarily attended with the sad effects of *Civil War*; a calamity that has so lately prov'd fatal to the Kingdom in general, to the Prince and to the Subject. Whence it may be reasonably presum'd, when our Passion is over, and we have fully consider'd the rise, progress and event of *the Last Rebellion*, we shall grow calm and wise, permit the King to enjoy his own Prerogatives, and content our selves with our just Rights and Priviledges. 'Twill be time enough (when these are invaded, if Religion even then will allow it,) to oppose, or stand upon our defence; to offer at it sooner is madness and folly, Rebellion and Impiety.

For the better coming to our point, 'tis necessary we take a review of the times preceding *Forty One*, when from the end of King *James's* Reign, the people were, as now, full of murmurings, repinings and distrusts against the Government. At last the smother'd Embers burst forth into a Flame; and after ten years Violence, War and Confusion, and near as many more of Usurpation and Tyranny, the Commonwealth was so far from being better'd, by any of the many changes and expedients, that the recalling our King from his unjust Exile was found, and unanimously agreed, the only way to prevent its utter Ruine. Our Gracious Sovereign, merciful beyond example, pardons his Rebellious Subjects, the Murderers of his Royal Father, and the Usurpers of his own Crown and Dignity; loads, even among them, with Offices and Honour, such as seem'd penitent, and were capable. He then proceeds, first to the resettlement of the Religion of the Church of *England*, like Vertue seated in the middle, and equally endanger'd by the two extremes of *Papery* and *Presbytery*; and after, to that of the State in peace and quiet, which we enjoy'd to the envy of our Neighbours. This happiness occasion'd a War with *Holland*, *France* and *Denmark*, to their great Loss, and the Renown of *England*, ending in a League of friendship and amity, for the general good of *Europe*. Not long after the King was advis'd to grant a toleration for the ease of tender Consciences, and the advancement of Traffique and Manufacture. This was press'd with arguments, That the want of it occasion'd *Verner's* Insurrection; the Plot in 1662. for which several suffer'd at *Tyburn*; that in 1663. begun in *Ireland*, and carried on in *England*, for which in 1664. divers were executed in *Yorkshire*, as were others after in *London*, April 1666, who confess'd at *Tyburn* a Design of subverting the Government, seizing the Tower, and firing of *London* the September following; and withal, declaring there were those behind of their Party

party, that wou'd still effect that design, which as to that part was too evident. This is notorious from the historical account publish'd in 8°. and confirm'd by the *Gazet*; and therefore I cannot but wonder at the Commons Vote of last *January* the 10.th. That it is the opinion of this House, that the City of *London* was burnt in the year 1666 by the Papists, designing thereby to introduce arbitrary power and Popery into this Kingdom. It wou'd be a great satisfaction to the World to publish the grounds of this opinion, because that otherwise considering they did not pursue it, nor any reason assign'd what shou'd have hindred, it will hardly gain more credit, than the Philosophers paradox, that Snow was black. I have read of some, who never wanted opinions, cou'd they but find arguments to make them probable, for which their being at a loss made them ridiculous with the sober part of mankind.

The King consents, and at the same time declares a War against *Holland*, whose insolence and injustice in point of Trade and Honour was become insupportable. Soon after the Parliament conven'd, and apprehending the Indulgence might in time prove destructive to the establish'd Religion, pray'd it might be revok'd; the King contrary to the then Ministers advice, answer'd their desires. Hereupon they grow peevish, and thenceforward vow and study all the methods of Revenge and Confusion, tho' with the hazard of the publick. Ever since we have been continually alarm'd with Libels against the Government; at last a discovery is made of a Popish contrivance, sifted as far as possible by the King in Council, and after earnestly recommended to the Parliaments further consideration. This is pursued, but some men laying hold on this, design to drive it on to further purposes, and under pretence of defending the Kings Person and expelling Popery, set up Presbytery, and pull down the Monarchy. But there being too strict a bond of mutual love and loyalty between the King and that Parliament, means are now us'd, upon a great Ministers being impeach'd, to have it dissolv'd: An Act that answer'd not his expectations. A new one is call'd, and exceeding the bounds of prudence and moderation quickly sent home. A third is summon'd, and the King having to this, as to the former, over and over press'd the impartial examination of the Plot, the tryal of the Lords, and the care of the establish'd Religion, wherein by all just and lawful ways he often declar'd he wou'd not follow, but heartily go along with them. But alas! they intended no such thing. The Plot must be kept on foot, else they wou'd be defeated. The King perceiving they still neglected the good of the publick, breaks them, and summons a fourth at *Oxford*, where I wish they

they may be inspir'd, with softness and prudence, answerable to the designs of the Place, and the needs of the Kingdom.

After this short account, is it possible to believe these, who insinuate the King himself is in the Plot, is a Papist, and intends arbitrary Government? Oh! ridiculous, nonsensical fancy. If the Plot be against his Person and Government, and contriv'd by Papists, and among them (as *Bedlow* has sworn) none in *England* but have receiv'd the Sacrament upon't, and he be of the number, he must joyn with others to cut his own throat, stab, shoot, or poyson himself. But here's some mystery in this pretty Invention; *Charles Stuart* conspires against the King; this imitating the Long Parliament in his Fathers time, who fought for the King, for his politick capacity, against himself, his Natural, his Person. But if he were a Papist, wou'd he have pass'd into Laws every Bill tender'd him by both Houses, as well before, as since this Plot, in their disfavour? And yet we know one of the godly Party was lately fin'd 500 *l.* for saying, The Duke of *York* was a Papist, and the King little better; a saying no longer minc'd nor whisper'd, but now loudly and plainly spoken every day. Cou'd he have been wrought to a change of Religion, in the time of his banishment, he had not withstood, the offers of foreign Princes and the solicitations of a fond Mother, to reinstate him in his own Dominions with absolute arbitrary power. But he was too much a Christian, and too good a King, not to prefer continuance in exile, to the designs of enslaving his Subjects, either in their souls or in their bodies. Must he now, in an Age desirous of rest and quiet, be upbraided with such purposes, that had resolv'd against them in the heat of his youth, the great spur of ambition? Now when to compass this wicked and ridiculous project is as impossible, as before it was the contrary; when after his restoration besides foreign assistance, offer'd at any rate, and to any purpose, he had an obsequious General, a victorious Fleet and Army, and a Parliament, whose zeal and devotion seem'd in nothing to be bounded but by the limits of his own pleasure; when to the immense treasure he was possess'd of, bestow'd among his people with equal bounty as it was given, he might have added vastly by the confiscations of more than half the Estates and Wealth of the Three Kingdoms. But instead of this, he often press'd his Parliament to expedite the Act of Oblivion, disbanded his Army, and enlarg'd the Fleet, by making one Squadron of more value than all three in the time of Queen *Eliz.* disabl'd, in all his Dominions, without exception, all Papists, from bearing any Office Civil or Military. Has he not pass'd the Bill, excluding for ever all Popish Lords out of the House, to which

his

his Father cou'd never be perswaded? Has he not likewise curtail'd the Royal power by two other Acts, that of the *Habeas Corpus*, and against Quartering of Souldiers? Three Statutes, for which he might have had as many Millions, had he insisted on a bargain, or known how to distinguish between his own private Interest and that of the Subject, or the truckling way of Bartering, when the good of his people was concern'd. Why did he, but for the sake of the Protestant Religion, refuse the elder Daughter of the Crown to the Dauphin of *France*, and marry her to the Prince of *Orange*? And this without putting his Parliament to the charge of a Portion, or a much greater Sum, which they wou'd have gladly given, had he made the proposition. And no other cou'd be the motives of recalling his Troops from *France*, raising an Army for the defence of the *Netherlands*, at the expence of above 200000 *l.* more than was given, and his prohibiting Trade with that Crown. These things put a stop to the progress of that victorious King's Arms, occasion'd his quitting *Messina*, and clapping up a general peace, when he was just at the point of his propos'd Conquests. If our Prince intended an arbitrary Government, why besides his former neglecting the opportunity, wou'd he disable himself for the future, by parting with one of the greatest instruments for that purpose, the Court of Wards and Liveries, Tenures *in Capite* and Knight-Service, Purveyance, &c. And what did he receive for this excess of bounty, for the chiefest and most useful flower of the Crown, but a trifle, a feather, half the Excise, not above a fourth of the others yearly value. And after all this, Knaves invent, and Fools believe, he is now setting up for Tyranny and Popery, when his years are past the heat of ambition, his Coffers empty, *France* disoblig'd, and his own people alarm'd, and bent against it with all imaginable resolutions of opposition. Can any man imagine that a person, who disarms himself, intends to fight?

Besides, What one Illegal Arbitrary Act has he done in his twenty years Reign? Whom has he defrauded of an Ox or an Ass, of Life or Possession? Where has he in any one instance invaded *Magna Charta*, our Rights, Properties or Liberties? What Bill tender'd by Parliament, for the security of our Lives or Fortunes, has he rejected? He pass'd all without exception. As for the Bill for intrusting the Parliament with the Militia for a limited time, reason then, and experience since, has prov'd it was a needless encroachment on the Royal Prerogative, without the least prospect of publick good; and to have parted with that power but for a moment, was for so long to unking and divest himself of a power he cou'd not be certain wou'd be ever restor'd.

restor'd. As he has freely pass'd all Laws, has he not as chearfully offer'd to enact any thing that was agreeable to Justice and Reason for our further security in Religion, Liberty and Property?

From these considerations, nothing will appear more vain and idle than our *Fears* and *jealousies*, our Factionous and Seditious reflections on the Government. I will not say without great caution, but we may run into those very things we so much dread, and wou'd avoid, *Popery* and *French Government*, or (which is equally destructive of our Birth-rights and Happiness) *Presbytery* and a *Commonwealth*. This will be no groundless surmise, if we look back, and observe that the Leav'n against the establish'd Constitution both in Church and State has sow'd almost the whole lump; the poyson of *Presbytery*, formerly known by the name of *Puritanism*, hatch'd at *Frankford* and *Geneva*, grown to a head in *Scotland* with the Reformation, has infected the generality of the Kingdom, the common Traders and Dwellers in Cities and Corporations, and the unthinking and illiterate part of the Gentry, with hatred against Monarchy and the Church of *England*. This was certainly the invention of *Rome* to overthrow us, by thus sowing Divisions; they well foresaw our Kingdom and Church in it self divided cou'd not long stand. All the Antimonarchical Principles are the same in both, the one as well as the other deny Supremacy in the King, the *Jesuit* will have the *Pope*, and the *Presbyter* *Jesus* his Head. King-killing and Deposing Doctrine is disown'd by all honest *Papists*, as the Author even of *Plato Redivivus* does confess, tho' two or three *Jesuits* have privately asserted the opinion as problematical, for which themselves and writings were censur'd and condemn'd, as false and damnable; But 'tis justified, both by Books and Practice of the whole *Presbyterian* party; 'tis so plain and fresh in our memories, I need not instance in the Authors. *St. Peter's Chair* is not more Infallible than that of an Assembly of *Presbyters* in a National Classis or Synod. Men of these Antichristian Principles stirr'd up the *Late Rebellion*, and being active and diligent, drew in many unwary honest men beyond the power of retreating. Did not the Faction here tamper in *Scotland*, where the promoters of the Covenant, that *Godly Instrument*, apply'd to the Crown of *France* for protection, as appears by the Letter found with the Lord *Lowden*, therefore sent to the Tower?

But what was the issue of this Contrivance, but Confusion and Misery through the three Kingdoms, the *Presbyterian* party overpower'd by the *Independents*, and these again by the *Army*; a Commonwealth

monwealth set up, and soon after turn'd into a perfect Tyranny under *Oliver Cromwel*; after more money had been illegally squeez'd from the Subjects by Ordinances and Loans, Sequestrations and Decimations, Excise and other Impositions, than was ever known before or since? The people weary, call home their Prince, who by an excess of mercy and clemency, sparing to root up men of these Principles, gave way to their infecting others with the same humour of discontent. 'Tis to be observ'd, that the year 1535. is remarkable for the *Geneva Reformation*, and the spawning of the *Jesuits* Order, and that our unlucky home-bred Divisions were fomented, if not first set on foot, under hand, by directions from the Court of *France*, as well as from *Rome*, the Interest of that State, as well as of the Church, depending on our Distractions; to which end *Richlieu*, that great Minister, imploy'd many Pensioners into *Scotland*, as did after his Successor *Mazarine* in *England*. And therefore there is nothing more inconsiderate than to think we are not now acting and promoting *French-Designs*; 'tis their business to divide us, and yet so to manage the Ballance, that they let neither the King nor Parliament have the better, or ever come to a right understanding: They can no otherwise obtain the Western Empire, and 'tis directly against their Interest ever to suffer *England* to be either a perfect Monarchy, or an absolute Commonwealth. Those that roar most against *French* Councils and Measures, under-hand-bargains and agreements between both the Kings, know they bely their own Conscience, and that the *French* have us in the last degree of contempt. This the E. of D. printed in his own vindication, perhaps not ignorant that some of their Ministers did, in the year 1677. and 78. before the breaking forth of the Plot, declare, *That Monsieur L. had greater Interest and more friends in England than the D. of Y. That the K. had need be on his Guard, for he was in great danger of running the same risque with his Father; when it was likewise enquir'd, What Interest among the people two great Peers had, who have since the Plot been the great Pillars of the Protestant Religion, tho' neither was ever reputed to have any, were Ministers and Advisers in 1670. and 71. very good friends to France and Popery, Enemies to the Triple Alliance, and to Holland, &c. It was also said, That 300000 l. a year bestow'd in Scotland and England, among the Factions and Discontented, wou'd better serve the Interest of France, than any Bargain they cou'd drive with the Ministers.* 'Tis too well known that the greatest of these two Noblemen made a secret journey into *France*, some weeks before the Plot, after some private Transactions here with others,

among whom were Sir E. L. fam'd for Religion, for Morality, Major W. and H. N. as notorious for the same perfections and their love of Monarchy, and hatred of a Commonwealth; nor did A. S. want his share in the Consultation, a stout assertor of Prerogative, witness'd by his and others living out of this Kingdom, ever since the Kings Restauration, until they saw some likelihood of a change, the one returning about the time the D. of B. and the other Lords were in the Tower, and the other a few months before the breaking forth of the *Popish Conspiracy*; which no sooner came before the Parliament than some of the great Lords of the Committee for the Examination of the Plot kept their Consultations, and manag'd much of that Affair at *Wallingford-House*, Major W. their Secretary, where they concluded to take hold of this opportunity for the carrying on some long-hatch'd Designs of their own. Nor is it to be forgotten that in June before, a Letter was writ by an eminent person of the Faction, and can be now produced, *That very shortly somewhat wou'd be discover'd, that wou'd prevent our much longer walking in the dark; and that one of the greatest Lords sent to an Astrologer to know whether he was not in a short while to be in the head of 60000 men.* The methods agreed upon in France, and pursu'd here, were to make a Court and Country-party, to sow and disperse *jealousies* between both, and widen the gap with all possible Devices; which resolutions some here were the sooner induc'd to embrace, upon this consideration, *That they shou'd not live to see the issue, and were unconcern'd for what shou'd come after.* But yet I am too charitable to think, if we have any French Agents at home, they are impos'd upon by their own unwairiness, and the others cunning, to act rather against, than with, their knowledge, a part so much contrary to the Interest of *England*, and the Duty of a Christian. But however it be, I am morally assur'd we are doing their work; and if we are not Knaves and Pensioners, we are Blockheads or Fools, that are blind and besotted like men prepar'd for Destruction. *Quos Jupiter perdere vult, hos dementat.* If any one talks thus, he is presently call'd a *Papist* and a *Tory*; every true Son of the Church of *England*, and Loyal Subject, is branded with Nick names and run down by Noise and Faction; and he that opposes *Popery*, if he defends not *Presbytery*, is but a *Protestant in Masquerade*; if he commends *Monarchy* and our Legal Constitutions, to the discredit of a *Commonwealth*, he is a *Rascal*, a *Villain*, and a *dangerous Person*, not considering that we are made Tools and Instruments for French purposes, betray'd by their Cunning and Address, to forward and act with

with our own hands, our Slavery and Ruine. Shall we be still blind and deaf to reason and demonstration? Can we not reflect upon the *French* double-dealing in our late Civil Distractions, and remember what the Lord Keeper *Puckering* tells the Parliament in Q. *Elizabeth's* days, *That the Puritans, even at the time of the Spanish preparations for Invasion, were urging and pressing intestine Commotions*; where he largely sets forth their being as dangerous to the Crown and Mitre as the others, and therefore that both were to be equally suppress'd, *Papists* and *Puritans*. I cannot find that either have since alter'd their Principles, and consequently cannot but wonder why the *Papists* shou'd be persecuted, and the other countenanc'd, even against Law and former Statutes. 'Tis surely very imprudent to expect your House will be warm by shutting a Window, and setting open the Doors. And therefore because in this I can freely agree with *Plato Redivivus*, that the fear of Popery is not the cause of our present disturbances; I shall without regard to Religion, consider the *Papists* and *Presbyterians* as two Factions in the State, like the *Arminians* and *Lotharstein* party in *Holland*; and as such pronounce that both are to be suppress'd, or neither, because by emptying only one of the Scales, the Ballance is broken, and the Court or Monarchical party is first weaken'd and destroy'd, and after the whole form of Government alter'd into that of a Commonwealth; and I am fully convinc'd, if that had not been that Authors Designs, as to an ordinary Reader is past doubt, he wou'd have set down this as one of the Remedies of our present Evils. But the contrary was his purpose, and in order to it he cunningly, to preserve the Monarchy, wou'd set up a plain *Democracy*, and for an *English* King, obtrude upon us a *Doeg* of *Venice*; for he tells you at large that the ancient Power of the King is fallen into the hands of the Commons, and therefore to keep up the former illustrious splendor of the Crown, he wou'd have all its Jewels taken out, and set about the *Speakers Chair*, the King made a Cypher, and divested of all Power but the Name, to keep up the three several and distinct shares in the Government, King, Lords and Commons. 'Tis an ingenious way of arguing, but we are not yet, I hope, such fools to have it pass, to venture at play, and not know how to distinguish false Dice:

Oh! but says a *Faction's Petitioner*, that takes the House of Commons (sufficiently prov'd by the learned Answer to *Pety's* Book, to have had no share in the Legislative power) to be the Parliament; all their Votes, how wild and unreasonable soever, as we have lately as well as formerly seen in print, to be the sence of the Nation, and have the

force of Laws, and yet deny any Authority to the Kings Proclamation : This Scribler (says he) is Popishly affected, a *French* designer, a meer Tory ; not considering that there is not less hazard in splitting upon a rock, than upon a sand-bank ; that if I must be a slave, and forfeit my liberty, 'twere at least as good to do so under a single person, as more ; the tyranny of many is much more intolerable than that of one. 'Tis equally destructive of my liberty, whether the King or the House of Commons, takes away *Magna Charta* ; I am still against arbitrary Government, ruling according to pleasure, not the Laws and known Constitutions of the Land, whether assum'd by King or Commons ; if there be any choice, the odds are against the latter. And to speak truth, by what has pass'd since the Plot, any one in his wits, wou'd believe, the King is invaded, not an invader ; that his frequent Prorogations and Dissolutions have been his legal defensive weapons, us'd as much for his Subjects security, as his own honour ; that arbitrary power is a delicious thing, and therefore aim'd at by our Demagogues and tribunes of the people ; bad and to be decry'd, only while in the Sovereign. 'Tis very convenient to cry Whore first. *Solomon* tells us, *He that appeareth first in his own cause, seemeth just ; but his neighbour cometh after and proveth him*. If the people in an Island are alarm'd that an Invasion is design'd, and that only at one Port, and they become so foolish as for the guard of that, to neglect and expose all other, they do but make the easier way for their enemies to land and overcome. Those, who are the Watchmen, the Sentinels of our safety, ought with *Janus* to have two faces, one behind and the other before, and many eyes like *Argus*, there being otherwise no security against surprize. I remember in *Thucydides*, that the *Grecians* besieging a strong City, found no means but stratagem to become Masters, which they thus contriv'd : After they had purchas'd within some Pensioners, they kept the besieged awake, and put them into great distress by continual false alarms, and, as design'd, prepar'd to believe nothing more was intended than amusement and distraction. The false Citizens within taking this advantage, affirm'd they ought for the future to make it death to any Watchman to give the Alarm. This decreed, notice was given to the enemy, and without the least resistance the besieg'd were taken and undone, when and where they least suspected ; whereupon this Proverb was taken up, *Amyclas perdidit silentium*. I wish we may never run the same fate ; the application is too easie and natural to be dwelt upon.

And yet I cannot but take notice how the late House of Commons
have

have assum'd to themselves a power extraordinary, and by a Vote without proof or conviction, made eminent men and known Protestants, guilty of Popery and *French* designs, made them Advisers and Counsellors according to their own fancies, imprison'd several DURING PLEASURE, seiz'd Closets and Writings without Information, and contrary to *Magna Charta*; voted Acts of Parliament, made for the preservation of the establish'd Religion, useless, and their execution grievous to the Subject, against the Protestant interest, and an encouragement to Popery, &c. and among these, which is most wonderful, a Law made by the darling Queen *Eliz.* who cannot well be suppos'd to have been a friend to Popery. If these be not odd and arbitrary proceedings, I know not what are, nor why that shou'd be tolerable or lawful for them, which is not for any, no not for our Sovereign. Considering men are afraid the abettors of such practices are not friends to peace and quiet, but rather factious and dangerous, willing to enslave us to foreign Invasions or domestick Encroachments. Whatever may be said to the contrary, these actings are but too good grounds for such apprehensions. The cunningest Whores seem most devout, and inveigh very bitterly against the lewdness they daily study and commit. Your rooking Gamesters abhor, if you will believe their shams and oaths, the use of false Dice, and the un-Gentleman-like trick of cheating. However, none but Cullies, who want wit or years to make observation, can be wheedl'd and drawn in by such pretences.

Before the discovery of the Plot our Ministers were reflected on, as designing Popery and arbitrary Government, by many scandalous Pamphlets, and one in particular call'd, *An Account of the Growth of Popery*, &c. as if the people were to be prepar'd to believe the whole Court were Popish; that while they were alarm'd against that party, they might be unprovided to defend themselves against the other. The *Presbyterian* true blue, who like *Æsop's* Cat, tho' transform'd into the beautiful shapes of Court-Employments and Honours, will still be hankering after the old sport of Mousing; they will ever be lovers of a Commonweath, and enemies to Monarchy. This is plain from former, as well as later, proceedings, since the discovery of the Popish Plot, when they began to shew themselves in their proper colours, when they cry'd not only the Court, but the Church was Popish, and all that are for the establish'd Government. You cannot now be loyal, unless you are factious, nor a Protestant, if no *Presbyterian*. But pray observe, none tell you this, but the spawn of those seduc'd, or concern'd in the late Rebellion; men turn'd out, or that wou'd get into Court.

Court-Impliments, that account themselves slighted or disoblig'd; men of great Ambition, or of desperate Fortunes, who make all this noise and clutter, to be taken off. To what purpose else, did the late House of Commons make the Vote against the bargain or hopes of Court-preferment, but that such a design was a driving between some leading Members and Courtiers? Can they after such a discovery pretend zeal for Religion, and the good of their Countrey? For shame, let not Faction and private Interest make men forgetful of the publick, of the peace and quiet of the Nation: Let them secure our Constitutions against the encroachments or invasions of any, whether *Presbyter* or *Papist*; and remember that the most forward in the *Long Parliament* were soon turn'd out by others; and because what is *Sawce for a Goose is sawce for a Gander*, this of course will be the fate of those, who now glory in being *Ringleaders of Faction* to thwart and oppose their Sovereign; Nay, it may possibly be worse, the Gentlemen, the Knights of the Shires, may be kick'd out by *Mechanicks*, by Citizens and Burgeses; for he that practiseth Disobedience to his Superiors, teacheth it to his Inferiours. Sir *W. J.* Sir *F. W.* Collonel *T.* &c. all know were disoblig'd, and if taken into favour, the Employments and Honours they covet, wou'd stand up for the Court, as much as now they do against it. Whether the Petitioning Lords be not of the same temper, will best appear from the story of every single person. One of them has the humour convey'd with's Bloud. His Father was a Gentleman that appear'd zealous in the long Parliament for the good of his Country, the first that brought in the complaint of Ship-money. But soon after when he was made a Lord and a Courtier, he chang'd notes and sung another song, no man more for the Monarchy, in its defence he lost his life, and at his death publicly repented his actings against the Earl of *Strafford*. His Son was made an Earl upon the Kings return, sent Embassador Abroad, and Lord Lieutenant into *Ireland*; to get this command he despis'd not the Courtship and assistance of Coll. *T.* though a *R. C.* and a Creature of his *R. H.* to whom he made no slender Professions; not being satisfied with gaining vastly in that Station five years, he grows peevish in hopes of being sent the second time, nay rather than fail he is content to be Commissioner of the Treasury, in hopes that by the Courtship and Interest of some Women, no matter what Religion they are of, he may come to be Lord Treasurer: But not like to gain the White Staffe, and perhaps not caring to govern an empty Exchequer, he bent his Thoughts again towards *Ireland*; slighting the Treasury he is outed, and grows more discontented, and at last turn'd

out of Concil, the next day he repeats a Speech of E. of S. his making, and unask'd presents a piece of Council and Advice to his Sovereign, pretending as a Peer it was his duty. I am sorry his zeal made him forget, that Peers have no right of advising the King, but when he makes them of his Council, or by Writ Summons 'em to Parliament. And what's very odd, he advises just the contrary to what he and the other Noble E. had done the year before, when Courtiers. This Noblemans Life wou'd make a Comical History; he knows how to put on all shapes, and in the late times, was not ignorant how to make an Apple-tree supply the place of a Pulpit, he knew how to serve himself in all turns and changes, and has not fail'd since 1640. to have been often out and in with the several Higher Powers. To give him his due, he is a man of extraordinary Parts; but if one of these Lords said true, when he was a Courtier, and the other newly remov'd, they are all fitted and turn'd for confounding and amuling, but not for extricating out of difficulties. He wants not Wit to hold forth in the House, or in the open Air, upon occasion; nor is he meanly skill'd in the methods of Court-Pleasures, as well as Business. He must have an ill memory that forgets who advis'd the breaking the Triple-League, and making an Alliance with *France*, and a War with *Holland*, pronouncing in the Language of the Beast, *Delenda est Carthago*, that a *Dutch* Commonwealth was too near a Neighbour to an *English* Monarch; the Shutting up the Exchequer, the granting Injunctions in the case of the Bankers, and lastly the source of all our present misfortunes, the general Indulgence. These things being found of ill consequence, and the Ministers remov'd as designers of *Popery*, *Presbytery*, *Atheism*, or *Irreligion*, *Arbitrary* or *French* Government; must any of such Principles as soon as turn'd out of Court, be receiv'd into the Country, as if these two had different Interests? Whoever say there is more than one common weal in both, are Deluders, and Incendiaries, and Betrayers of the Nation. Those that strive to divide the King and his people, are to be look'd upon as Pensioners of *France*, and to be most severely punish'd. There are that can tell Tales, what Great man since the Plot, offer'd a Reconciliation with the D. and for a Restoration to his former Power and Greatness, wou'd be his Servant to all intents and purposes. But the D. cou'd not be perswaded, one that had as often chang'd Parties, as *Proteus* his Shapes and the *Chameleon* his Colours, cou'd be true to any Interest, but his own; and therefore rejected his many Messages on this subject. Another Peer, whose Son in the Lower House, is the great Tribune of the people, wou'd have had a Dukedom added to the Garter, to make both Sing to another Tune. A fourth wou'd

wou'd fain be a Privy Councillor in Reverſion. A fifth not long ſince at any rate of purchaſe, wou'd have been Maſter of the Horſe to the Duke : Strange ! that a Proteſtant Lord ſhou'd think of ſerving a ſuppos'd Popiſh Prince, and after hope, though thus mounted on Horſeback, to get to Heaven. 'T wou'd be tedious to give particular accounts of all ; only by the way obſerve that a Young Lord newly come to Age, own'd himſelf to his Maſteſty Diſoblig'd, becauſe after a Voyage to *Tangier*, his great Valour there ſhewn, *And ſpending his Youth in his Prince's Service*, (theſe were his own words to the King) another was preferr'd to the Command of the Lord *Plymouth's* Regiment. I cannot but commend this Nobleman's Ingenuity in owning the true Cauſe, and not pretending, as others, Conſcience and publick good for his motives. But I am ſorry he ſhould forget, not only the obligations of gratitude, which he is under for his Bread and for his Honour, but alſo who ſays, *Appear not wiſe before the King, and give not Counſel unask'd*. He has learning enough to underſtand the meaning of *in conſilium non vocatus ne acceſſeris*. 'Tis to be hop'd he may repent, and with more years his wit may be turn'd into wiſdom.

As for the D. of M. I believe him perfectly drawn in by deſigning Politicians for ends of their own, who never intended him more than as an uſeful Tool, afterwards to be laid aſide. 'Tis no wonder that one of his Youth and Spirit ſhou'd be tempted with the Baits and Allurements of a Crown, the ſplendor and gaiety of Power has blinded many Elder men's underſtandings. But that they never had him in their thoughts for K. appears from the Author of *Plato Redivivus* ; and indeed if they had, they went the wrong way to work. They ſhou'd not have engag'd him ſo far, as to deſerve his being turn'd out of his Command as General ; a Poſt, that wou'd have beſt enabl'd him to ſeize upon and make good any pretence to the Crown, after the death of his Maſteſty. I am apt to believe his Grace is ſorry for what is paſt ; I am certain it were his Intereſt to throw himſelf at the Kings Feet, and quit the Counſels of thoſe men, who intriguing for themſelves, puff him up with falſe hopes, and yet ſufficiently diſcover that nothing is farther from their hearts than his Exaltation, or what is ſo much in their mouths, publick ſervice to the King and Country. 'Tis much better for him to be content with the ſecond place in the Kingdom, than by pretending to the firſt, againſt all manner of reaſon, and the obligations of gratitude, forfeit all, his Fame and Honour, Life and Fortune.

The Petition being already answer'd, I will only obſerve, that His Maſteſty, intending to turn them out, ſent Mr. Secretary to the E. of E.
for

for a List of the *Papists* he mention'd in the Guards ; But the *Noble Peer* had none to give, but may be suppos'd to have taken the story upon hearsay, from some that had the malice to invent it. And now must the Nation suffer themselves to be rid by any *Faction*, because designing particular advantages, they guild all with the specious pretences of *Religion* and *Loyalty*, particular respect for the Church of *England*, by opening her Doors to all Dissenters, and for the Monarchy, by clipping the Kings power to prevent the *Papists* Contrivances against his Person? Examine whether the zealous sticklers for the Protestant Religion, have any at all ; or if they have, whether it be not as far from that Establish'd by Law, as Popery ? Whether if the King wou'd grant all their desires, receive them into Offices and Power, they wou'd not stand up in justification of the Court as fiercely as now they do the contrary ? What has been before, may well be expected again. He that considers this, and that malice never spoke well of any, will give the Factious little credit ; especially, when against reason and sense they wou'd impose upon us, that the King himself is in the *Plot* ; or as one of the Members in a printed Speech tells the House, *The Plot is not so much in the Tower, as in White-Hall ; there 'tis to be search'd for, and there to be found* : And all this because he will not unking himself, and put his Crown into their hands, and against Law, his Coronation-Oath, and brotherly affection, pass the *Bill of Exclusion*, to the prejudice of himself and the whole Kingdom. This is not a single or private man's opinion, but the judgment of the Supreme Tribunal of *England*, the House of Lords ; where upon the first reading it was thrown out, with the odds of 63 against 31 ; for which reason their Lordships are call'd Masquerading Protestants, Tories, Papists, or their adherents ; as if the Lords must not be allow'd the privilege the Commons take with any of their Bills, without censure and affront. But why for their Act must His Majesty be loyally libell'd and aspers'd ? It had been time enough, one wou'd have thought, to have call'd him Papist, &c. had he rejected the Bill after it had pass'd both Houses. Oh ! then who cou'd have doubted, but his doing more against the Papists than any of his Predecessors, had been promoting their Interest, that his pardoning no man condemn'd, nor stopping the execution of any Law against Recusants, was making it no Plot, and that passing the Test was letting in Popery by whole-sale. He that can believe these things, is prepar'd for any thing, to say a Lobster is a Whale, or a Whale a Lobster ; that the Moon is a Green-Cheese, and the Sun a round Plate of red hot Iron ; and then, I presume, it may

not be decided whether we are Fools or Madmen. Let us not thus idly and unjustly bely our Consciences, and publish to the Nation and all the World, that nothing can secure us against Popery, but the shaking and alteration of the Monarchy, by the Bill of Exclusion; an Act in it self unjust and impolitick, both for the King and People. No man is to be punish'd *ex post-facto*, by the Laws of this and all other Countries. Besides, why shou'd the Duke, more than any *Fanatick* of England, be outed his Birth-right? The Scripture says, *You must not do evil, that good may come of it; And Prudence will tell us, That this an evil, that must be attended with greater.* For the minute that it passes, the Duke is at liberty to recover his Right by secret or open Violence, Force Foreign or Domestick; He is declar'd an Enemy and a Traytor; condemn'd without Tryal or Conviction. This piece of Injustice must be defended by an Association or an Army; this Army must be entrusted in the hands of the King or a General, either may make himself Absolute and Arbitrary; and therefore if people are now afraid of slavery from the Government, what may then be their apprehensions? And if they are jealous of the King, what General will they find to entrust? Those meanly skill'd in story, know that Commanders of Armies have at pleasure subverted Commonwealths and Kingdoms: *Agathocles* from being General became Tyrant of *Syracusa*; *Pisistratus* of *Athens*, *Sforza* of *Milain*, the *Medici* of *Florence*, the *Casars* of *Rome*, and not to go so far off, *Cromwel* of the Three Kingdoms. Most of the *Roman* Emperors were dethron'd by their Generals; and therefore this cannot but make the King as unwilling as the People, to entrust this great Power in any person. And yet without such a trust the Act of Exclusion is not worth a straw; nor with it can we be secur'd against Slavery, whether the Duke conquer or be overcome. The Duke will still find a party, at least if he out-lives the King, in the Three Kingdoms to fight his Quarrel; and if he comes in by Force, he may well use us like a *conquer'd Nation*, break our old, and give us what Laws and Religion he pleases; Whereas if we attempt no such thing, we shall not run the hazard of a *CIVIL WAR*, the King being as likely to out-live, as to be out-liv'd by; His Brother. If he shou'd chance to succeed peaceably, he cannot be perswad'd to offer any alteration in Religion so much against his Interest, and who never forwarded any in his own Family, suffers his Children to continue in the

Church of *England*, knowing that Christianity forbids compulsion for its propagation. To say he wou'd be Priest-ridden, is ridiculous; why he more than the *French King*, who openly opposes the Popes Usurpation, and assumes to himself the cognizance even of Church-affairs? This is but a pretence to impose upon the ignorant and the credulous; if there be not Laws enough already, new ones may be made to prevent any such intention. When all Offices and power are in the hands of Anti-papists, I cannot see where can be our danger.

But this, if granted, wou'd not be all, the Monarchy is hereby made elective, and the possessor may as well be remov'd, as the successor debarr'd. In order to this, is there not a History of the Succession publish'd, shewing that the Monarchy is rather elective than hereditary? Of which here I will only say, that the Writer is a notorious Plagiary, and steals all out of a seditious Book writ on the same Subject by *Parsons* the Jesuit, under the Name of *Daleman*, in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, with design of distracting the people, and making way for a *Spanish Conquest* and Inquisition; the *Presbyterian* Transcriber proves himself of the same Jesuitical principles, and with equal honesty pursues the same ends, Usurpation and Slavery. 'Tis not to be doubted, but that there has been frequent interruptions of the Succession of the Crown; but no title, but that of the Sword, was ever put in ballance with proximity of blood, and he that will oppose Fact to Right is very unjust, and argues not upon the principles of Morality, nor the Laws of Nations. Much such another good Christian, is the Writer of *The Appeal to the City*, who tells us, if we set up a King with none or a crack'd title, we shall have the better Laws; and instances that *Richard the 3d.* an Usurper, a Murderer, and a Tyrant, made excellent Statutes. But he might, had he been just, have found the Laws of that King outdone by those of our present Sovereign, whose title none can question.

And yet it is not unreasonable to suspect a design on foot of subverting the Monarchy, if it be consider'd that the passing the Bill against the Duke, will not alone satisfy his adversaries, who further expect that all those now firm to the King be remov'd, and their trust put into confiding hands; and thus when they had him in their own power, it wou'd be no hard matter to act their pleasure. The Speech disown'd by the Protestant Lord, and burnt by the Hangman (a fate the Author does certainly deserve) tells us in plain English, *We must have a Change, and a King we may trust, and well affected Counsellors*, with much more treasonable and seditious stuff. These things, and the frequent mentioning the fates of *Edm. 2.* *Rich. 2.* and *Hen. 6.* cannot but alarm his Majesty, and restrain him

from ever complying with such persons against his only Brother. He has so often affirm'd the Bill shou'd never pass, that he cannot now without diminution of his own honour, as well as safety, alter his well-grounded resolution, taken upon the sense of conscience and duty, the present and future good of himself and people. An act that wou'd be the highest violation of *Magna Charta*, that ordains none shou'd be put by his birth-right and inheritance, but by the Law of the Land, and legal process. And therefore I hope, what cannot be suppos'd, will be granted, will no longer be insisted on, lest the consequences prove fatal.

One thing I cannot but admire, that the Duke shou'd be absolutely excluded on supposition of being a Papist, for otherwise he is allow'd by all a Prince of incomparable virtues and endowments, leaving no room for enjoying his right, in case he become Protestant. Do they suppose an alteration of opinion impossible? that's false and foolish. There are instances of men that have changed often; and to mention no more, the Dukes Grandfather *Hen. 4.* twice alter'd his opinion. Besides, it is unjust, and contrary to their own practice, for *L. Br.* was an imprison'd Plotter, but as soon as he became a Convert, without further process or tryal he was innocent and acquitted. We do in this exceed the Papists in *France*, and condemn our Protestant Ancestors, and all others abroad, who accus'd them as Antichristian and Rebellious, for opposing their lawful King *Hen. 4.* on the score of Religion; for the *Parisians* lov'd his person, and stood upon no other condition than his turning Papist, to receive him for their Sovereign; as all the other *R. C's.* of that Kingdom had done before. And therefore I very much suspect we are grown weary of Monarchy, and with an inconstancy natural to *Islanders*, affect a Change tho' for the worse. To this I am induc'd by many Reasons, and not a little from a Protestant Lords Speech, the last Sessions, *That the People of Athens were so fond of good King Codrus, that they resolv'd to have none after him.* But to attempt this piece of folly and wickedness, will inevitably embroyl us in a Civil War. And of that the event is so uncertain, that we ought to dread the loss of all, by striving to enlarge our present liberties. This madness ordinary prudence will carefully avoid, because in all probability the King must get the better; his condition is not like his Fathers: He has standing Troops, which the other wanted, to Guard his Person; he has the Militia in his own hands, he has no *Scotch* nor *Irish* Rebellion, to divide or distract his Forces; and above all, he has the Parliament in his own power, to let them Sit or not Sit, at his pleasure and their good behaviour. And 'tis happy he has this power, to secure himself from popular fury, at this

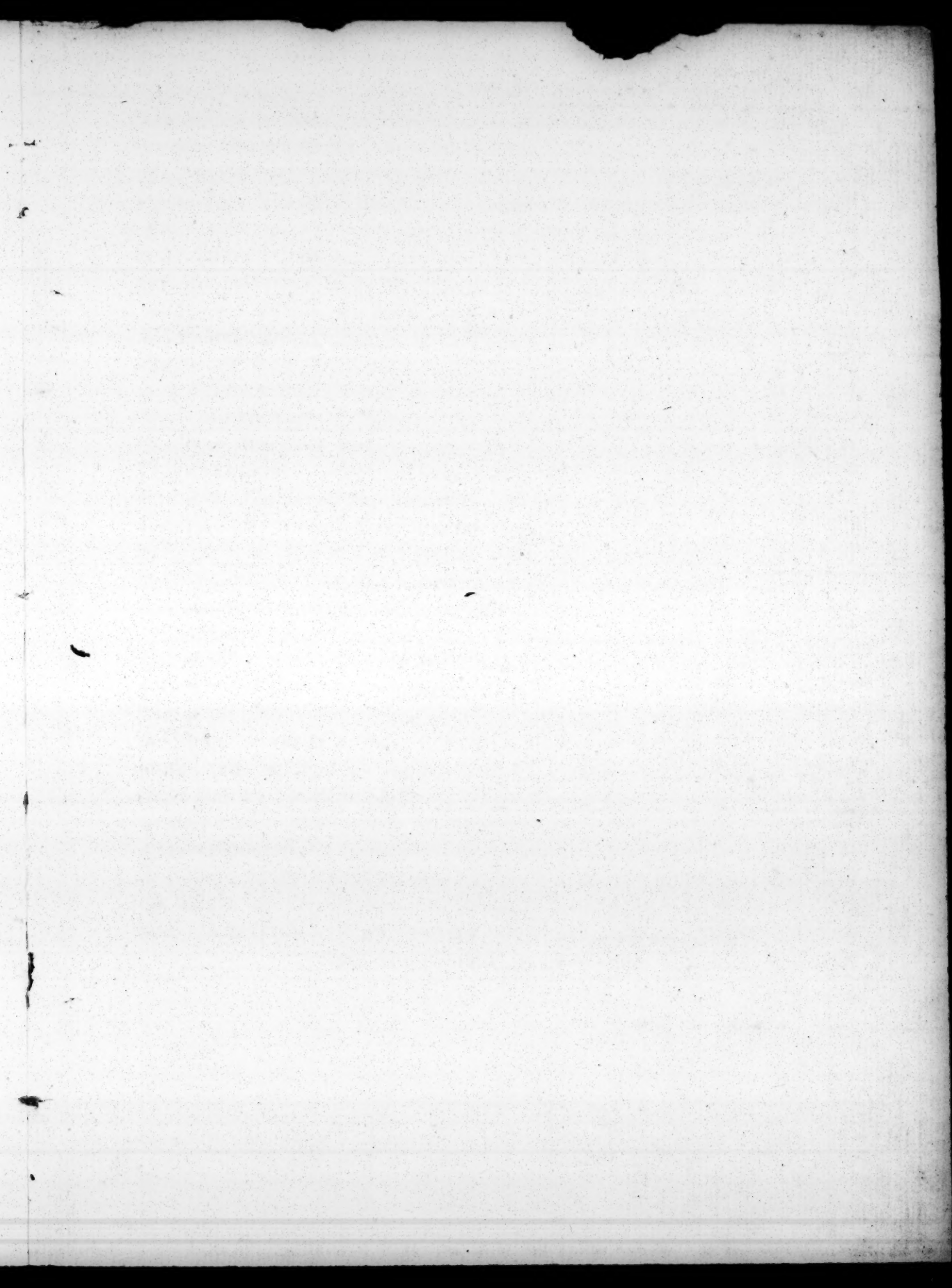
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time especially, when whatever the Papists have done, we daily see others run into Clubs and Cabals, distinguishing themselves by Green Ribbans, by general Committees and Subcommittees, where all Transactions of Parliament are first design'd and hammer'd, Collections made, a Common Purse manag'd, and Agents employ'd in every County, to prepare and influence the people, write and disperse false News, Libels against the Government; Addresses made and sent into every Shire and Burrough, and if the Members do not go down to their Elections, they can Print for them such Speeches as serve their purpose. Witness one my Lord *Vaughan* spoke at his Election, though his Lordship was not out of *London*. I have not heard before, that Sir *Samuel Morlans* Speaking Trumpet cou'd convey a voice a hundred Miles distance. But this is nothing with our *True Protestant Intelligencer B. H.* who Printed an Address from the City of *Colchester*, that never was seen nor presented by any of the Inhabitants, as by an Instrument under the Town-Clarks hand does plainly appear. But though Swearing be, Lying is not, against the interest or practice of the Godly; the *Presbyterian*, true off-spring of the *Ignatian* Fathers, who out do them in the Doctrine of *Pie Fraudes*, as well as in all other their immoral and *Antimonarkick* Principles.

And now considering that none that have any thing to loose, can ever get by a Rebellion, and that there is no just pretence for one, our Liberties and Properties not being broken or invaded, the Rich, unless they are mad, will never begin; and yet with, or without their assistance a Rising of *Jack Cade* or *Wat Tyler* instigated by greater persons, will but enlarge the Regal Power, and enrich the Crown: And for these and many more reasons I look upon the Threats or Fears of Rebellion, as idle and vain, as our Jealousies and Apprehensions of *Poper*y, never possible in *England* but by a Civil War, since their numbers here are but as one to 230. and by an exact calculation in the three Kingdoms, the whole number of *Papists* is but as one to 205. non-*Papists*, and their wealth and possessions is not one to 300. If their power had been so terrible, they wanted not since the Plot provocations to make us feel, as well as hear on't. But these noises are like Armies in disguise at *Knights-bridge*, and Regiments of Horse hid in Cellars under ground, and blowing up the *Thames* to drown *London*; artifices formerly us'd to draw in the easie and the credulous. But 'tis to be presum'd, the same trick will not pass twice upon us in one and the same Age, while the bleeding wounds of the last are still so fresh in our memories. To remedy and compose our present madness and distractions, and prevent future evils, must without doubt be the hearty endeavour of all honest men, who expect this will be a healing

ling Parliament, that will make up all our breaches, and unite our divisions, by the methods of prudence and discretion; weighing the true causes, and applying fit remedies, without regard to faction or interest, heat or passion; reflecting how unreasonable it is, to suspect in the King or his Ministers any design of introducing Popery and arbitrary Government; a malicious and idle invention, set on foot with purpose, to enflame the Kingdom, by men who were outed, or desirous of Court-Employments, disoblig'd persons, or *French Pensioners*: That the Bill of Exclusion is not like to pass, either the Lords House or the King, because in it self unjust, impolitick and dangerous, not only to the Prince, but to the Subject: That all other legal ways for preventing Popery and Presbytery, are to be taken by those, who design the preservation of the establish'd Monarchy and Religion: That this is already, or may with ease be secur'd against the attempts or power of any Popish Successor: That our fears in this point are groundless, and at best founded upon accidents, that may never happen: That 'tis the highest imprudence to run into real, present, to avoid possible, future evils: That innovations of this sort wou'd be against the Princes interest, who having not a 4th. part of the Revenue, necessary for the support of the Crown, must be under a necessity of complying with his people in Parliament; and that his temper, practice and Declarations, secure us against impositions of this nature: That it be consider'd, whether the unquiet apprehensions from the Plot, may not be laid by a speedy and impartial tryal and execution of all the accus'd and convicted, and the Kings after granting a general pardon, with such exceptions as have been usual. The doing this will beget a right understanding between the King and his people, defeat the contrivances of our adversaries, restore us to peace and quiet at home, and rescue us from contempt and danger abroad, and make the Name of Parliament as famous and renown'd, as some Libellers endeavour to make it base and odious. How this is to be compass'd, you your selves are deservedly made the Judges, and therefore I will not like the foolish Orator, teach *Hannibal* the Art of War. — *Fiat Justitia, ruat Cælum.*

F I N I S.



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